754 The nyonnyonsé also ride the wind. The members of this family of sorcerers can kill anyone pointed out to them. People who wish to do away with an enemy go to a nyonnyonga and ask him how much he wants to kill the person they designate. The sorcerer asks for a cow, a sheep, anything whatever, and a chicken. The chicken is sacrificed on the handle of a hatchet, at the end where the iron is hafted, which is pierced with three holes and wrapped with thin cords. Following this sacrifice the sorcerer goes to sleep, and night or day his soul goes off with the wind, head down, hatchet in hand. When it meets the soul of the person who is to be killed, the sorcerer's soul strikes it with the hatchet and kills it, then returns to its own body. It seems that the female sorcerers are the most ferocious!

Anyone who wants it may obtain this power, but a fee is required. The lifespan of these sorcerers increases in proportion to the number of people they have killed, and those who wish to be initiated must offer them the life of one of their children or at least of a relative, for the sorcerers are not satisfied with a stranger or a slave.

It would be interesting to investigate the sacrifices and ceremonies which attend these initiations. It does seem that these tibo, waongo, and nyonnyonsé sorcerers belong to the realm of black magic, for the natives tell dreadful stories about them and list their victims by name. We must confess, however, that we were unable to secure any further trustworthy details about these sorcerers, and that we had no personal contact with any of them. We could not verify all that was told us about them, and therefore we shall not discuss the subject any further. In any case, these sorcerers if questioned would have told us nothing unless they had come to be converted.

754 575 These families of sorcerers are a small minority among the Mossi, and if they can be called closed sects, secret societies, /107/ they are to our knowledge the sole ones extant. In Mossi country, therefore, there are properly speaking no secret societies, nothing like the sects found in Bambara country, (1) and this is a good thing.

1. Abbé Henry, L'ame d'un peuple africain /The Soul of an African People/, Bibliothèque Anthropos 1, 2, passim.

Likewise, there are no initiations, no secret cults celebrated at night, no esoteric doctrines. Is this because the nabas, intent on remaining the sole masters, would not allow a power greater than theirs to develop? Or is it for some other reason?

859 868 The girls remain by their mother's side. They fetch water with her, learn how to pound millet, how to cook, etc. When they are eight or nine, they are taught how to spin cotton.

513 882 The boys sleep in their mother's hut until they are circumcised, that is, until they are about thirteen years old. Thereafter, they sleep in a special hut, kombarogo, with all the other circumcised boys of the compound. The girls sleep in their mother's hut until they are married.

561 Little boys are called kondibili kirisé, biribili kirisé, or komkirisé (komkiriga in the singular). Little girls are called kompougouli kirisé or bipougouli kirisé. The older girls are kompougouli beda or bipougouli beda. The older boys or young men (they are considered as such once they are circumcised) are rasamba (rasanga in the singular). Young girls are called pourousada or pougousada (pourousadaba in the plural).

857 ●575 Education of children among themselves. Societies. —Mossi children form societies among themselves. These are called nam (they are the same as the Bambara ton or flambolo). There is a society for boys and one for girls in the small villages. In the large villages, as in Ouahigouya, for example, these societies are formed by village quarters.

Each society has its chief and its high dignitaries: its Moro Naba who rules over it with his four ministers. The girls also have their Pourousada Moro Naba and four female ministers. These societies are devoted to play, drinking, tom-tom playing, and dancing.

Each member must furnish a certain number of cowries: the chiefs /256/ give 200 or 300; the mere rasamba, 100; the kondibili, 50; the kondibili-kirise, 30. The Moro Naba of the society collects the dues, and he is also the treasurer.

Another source of income for the society derives from work performed for the people of the village, the owners of fields. The boys do not merely go and offer their services. When someone needs a helping hand with his field, he goes to the Moro Naba of the society who places the whole group at his disposal for a fee. Payment is made in millet which the society uses to make dolo for its celebrations.

Another source of income derives from fining members for lapses in their duties to the society. The Moro Naba of the nam fines those who arrive late when called for work on someone's field or those who go on an errand or a short trip without notifying him in advance.

857 The people fined must give three or four canari of dolo (the usual 575 canari of dolo is worth 150 cowries, or three sous).

The members assemble to eat, to drink dolo, and to dance to the sound of the tom-tom at the compound belonging to the father of the society's Moro Naba. The girls are invited to come and dance.

[71] Among the Mossi of Yatenga, the nam do not have their own huts as do the Bambara ton and flambolo.

Little mock weddings are performed in the societies between the girls and boys. The young spouses offer each other small gifts of cowries, peanuts, cotton, etc.

Once married, the young girls withdraw from their society on account of their husband's jealousy. Married men, on the other hand, may remain in theirs and quite frequently do while they are young. Old men, however, are no longer members of the nam.

883 Young people's tasks. —Young men, after they are circumcised (at the age of 13 or 14), work in the compound or rather in the work group to which they belong on the same days and at the same hours as other members of the group.

They are provided with food by the head of the group seven months out of twelve and by their father five months out of twelve, and they are clothed by the latter.

They have their own little plots, but the produce does not belong exclusively to them. Their father and mother take what they need to feed or clothe the youth. The remainder is his. Boys can thus accumulate a little property of their own before they marry.

Young girls have no little plots of their own to cultivate. They learn how to till the soil by working with their mother in the fields of the work group and in the mother's little private plots. Hence, they are fed by the group seven months out of twelve and by their father and mother for five months, and they are clothed by their parents. The individual property they own consists mostly of trifling jewels usually received as gifts. /257/

593 Rights and duties of parents toward their children. —Paternal authority rests largely with the father of the child, but also partly with the head of the work group, the head of the compound, and the family head. This is understandable, since the child's support is ensured for the greater part of the time, except for clothing, by the work group and since lodging is ensured by the compound.

789 If someone tells you that you own many animals, or that they are
791 very handsome, this gives bad luck, as you know. So, to ward it off,
777 /593/ you grasp your grigri by slipping two fingers into the iron hook and two others into the curve of the horn, and then you hang it in your hut, or better still, you hang it from the neck of one of the threatened animals.

789 11. A small turtle completely enclosed in a small leather bag
791 along with a powdered aquatic leaf called kouri. If you have a
755 stomach-ache, you cover the flat side of the object with butter and rub your stomach with it.

789 12. A small piece of wood covered with lizardskin in the middle
791 and leather at the ends and prolonged at one end by an iron tip.
832 If one wishes for the favors of a woman who refuses to grant them, one comes near the cruel woman while gripping the grigri in the left fist, its tip pointing up. At the same time, one presses the woman's hand tightly with the right hand. This method of seduction is claimed to be infallible.

789 13. A koba horn covered with leather and prolonged at the broad
791 end with a chicken foot. Inside, the horn contains rice, salt, and
754 soumbara. If you were threatened by a spell performed against you, you would slip the horn upon your head, with the thick end between the eyes and the pointed end behind the head. Then you would have nothing to fear.

14. A deer horn containing barkoundi leaves and closed with a lid adorned with a cowrie.

To prevent a sorcerer from eating the soul of a third party, you lift the lid with the aid of a knife covered with karité butter, you take with this knife a little of the contents of the horn, and you spread it on your forehead.

535 In addition to the bara and timisoba, the Mossi also have ouango.
532 "The ouango," says Marc (op. cit., pages 152 and 155), "are
575 dancers whose costume consists of a huge liana robe which covers the entire body and which is surmounted by a wooden mask painted red and black and usually representing /594/ the head of an animal. The ouango are members of a rather mysterious brotherhood. They have a special language, and the Mossi believe that anyone who says a word

535 while the ouango are singing will surely die within the year. (The
532 ouango sing at the funeral ceremonies of important personages, at the
575 second ceremony performed a month or a year after the burial).
The masks of the ouango are made in the greatest secrecy. They have to be carved out of a single piece of wood, and the man who is making one must not be seen as long as his task has not been completed.

535 "In our opinion it would be most interesting to try and study
575 the ouango and their customs more closely than we succeeded in
171 doing. We believe, indeed, that theirs is a very old institution
174 antedating the arrival of the Mossi in the Volta basin, an institution which they found among the peoples they conquered and which they preserved, no doubt because they did not dare fight it. Ouango are to be found throughout Gourounsi territory, and the dou noticed by Binger among the Bobo would seem to have the same origin. The dancers with totemic masks who appear in some of Desplagnes' photographs are quite similar to the Mossi ouango."

The Mossi ouango are thus no different from the Bobo dou, the Khassonké mamadiombo, the Habé and Bambara namakoro, the Malinké dokho, the Landouman /Landuma/ simo, etc.

173 The Earth chief or Tensoba is also part of the Mossi priestly
174 organization. We are already familiar with Earth chiefs, whom we encountered among the Gourounsi. They exercise no political authority in the village, but they are entrusted with the performance of sacrifices to the Earth and to other local divinities.

The presence of those Earth chiefs among the Mossi is no doubt to be explained by the superposition of the conquering group over the conquered group. When the Mossi invaded and conquered the country, they placed their own men at the head of all the villages and all the cantons in the course of conquest, /595/ to ensure the submission of the vanquished population. They never felt, however, (and they hold this in common with the rest of West Africa) that they were themselves qualified to offer sacrifices to the Earth and other divinities of the place. Only the vanquished, former owners of the latter and on good terms with it, were qualified to do this. The former autochtonous political chief thus naturally became a religious chief under Mossi authority. We have already seen that the Moro Naba